

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9058

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, JA

SUBJ: FURTHER REACTION TO JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH

REF: TOKYO 9057

SUMMARY. FAVORABLE INITIAL JAPANESE REACTION TO SECRETARY'S JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH BY AND LARGE SUSTAINED AFTER MORE CAREFUL STUDY OF OFFICIALS AND ANALYSIS IN PRESS. DESCRIPTION OF JAPAN AND EUROPE AS EQUALLY VITAL IN US WORLD VIEW HAS LEFT MOST LASTING IMPRESSION. OFFICIALS WELCOMED SECRETARY'S VIEW OF JAPAN AS "PERMANENT FRIEND," BUT PRESS, VOICING HOPE THAT JAPAN MAINTAIN SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER AMONG THE GREAT POWERS, THREATENED FORMULATION WITH SOME RESERVE. FONOFF LIKES IDEA OF SEMIANNUAL CONSULTATIONS, BUT NOT, FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST, AS SUBSTITUTE FOR ECONCOM. END SUMMARY.

1. EDITORIAL WRITERS AND COMMENTATORS OF ALL MAJOR DAILIES WERE PLEASED WITH THE IMPORTANCE THAT SECRETARY ATTACHED TO THE JAPAN RELATIONSHIP BUT SOMEWHAT RESERVED ABOUT THE PERMANENT FRIENDSHIP HE OFFERED. ALL EDITORIALS WERE POSITIVE ABOUT HIS PORTRAYAL OF JAPAN AS AN ALLY EQUAL IN IMPORTANCE TO EUROPE.

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SOME INTERPRETED STRESS IN SPEECH ON RECONCILIATION AS ONE OF

VITAL REQUIREMENTS FOR MODERN WORLD STRUCTURE AS ENDORESMENT AND VINDICATION OF INTERNATIONAL POSTURE JAPAN HAS LONG ADVOCATED AND FOLLOWED. OTHERS NOTED CONSPICUOUS CHANGE FROM CRITICAL US STANCE TOWARD JAPAN IN 1973 NIXON FOREIGN POLICY REPORT.

2. ANALYZING THE SECRETARY'S MOTIVATION FOR DEVOTING SO MUCH ATTENTION TO JAPAN AT THIS TIME, SOME PAPERS (YOMIURI AND TOKYO) CONJECTURED THAT CALLAPSE OF INDOCHINA AND WANE OF PRO-AMERICAN SENTIMENT IN OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES HAD MADE US PARTICULARLY AWARE OF NEED FOR ASIAN FRIENDS. THOUGH EDITORIALISTS LIKED THE NEW ATTENTION, THEY WERE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF US EMBRACE. WITH JAPAN IN RECENT WEEKS SINGLED OUT IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS BY PEKING, MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON, ONE EDITORIAL (YOMIURI) LIKENED JAPAN TO A PERSON IN A VALLEY SUMMONED SIMULTANEOUSLY TO THREE MOUNTAIN TOPS.

3. CONCEPT OF EQUIDISTANCE "MYTH" GAVE ALL PAPERS TROUBLE. THROUGH UNCERTAIN WHAT SECRETARY MEANT MOST EXPRESSED HOPE THAT JAPAN COULD AT LEAST MANAGE TO MAINTAIN EQUIDISTANCE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING, WHILE KEEPING CLOSE TIES WITH WASHINGTON.

4. EMBOFF REVIEWED SECRETARY'S SPEECH PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH WITH FONOFF FIRST NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DEP DIVDIR SADA AKI NUMATA, WHO HAS BEEN AUTHOR OF FONOFF'S INTERNAL ANALYSIS OF SPEECH AS WELL AS RESPONSIBLE FOR OFFICIAL TRANSLATION. PERHAPS THE FONOFF'S MOST INFLUENTIAL WORKING LEVEL COMMENTATOR ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY, NUMATA HAS HAND IN DRAFTING MOST SPEECHES GIVEN BY TOP GOJ OFFICIALS ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

5. LIKE OTHERS CONTACTED DURING OUR INITIAL CANVASS, NUMATA WAS IMPRESSED WITH CONTENT AND SCOPE OF SECRETARY'S PRESENTATION. BOTH HE AND HIS BOSS, FIRST NORTH AMERICAN DIV DIR FUJII, WHO IS NOW WORKING ON PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S SPEECH TO PRESS CLUB THIS AUGUST, COMMENTED THAT KISSINGER SPEECH WAS HARD ACT TO FOLLOW AND LEFT THEM WITH LITTLE NEW TO SAY. IN FACT, SPEECH WOULD AFFECT TONE AND THEMES FOR OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY JAPANESE OFFICIALS FOR SOME TIME TO COME. IN PARTICULAR, DESCRIPTION OF RANGE THROUGH WHICH US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP HAS PASSED--FROM CURIOSITY TO MUTUAL DEPENDENCE--WAS THEME LIKELY TO SHOW UP

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AGAIN, AS WAS ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AMERICANS AND JAPANESE. AS GRACE NOTE, NUMATA FELT CHOICE OF WORDS IN DESCRIBING EMPEROR'S VISIT AS LENDING "FURTHER DIGNITY" TO US-JAPAN TIES ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE AND PROPERLY APOLITICAL.

6. SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS THAT US RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN AS VITAL AS THAT WITH EUROPE, AND THAT US COMMITMENTS WOULD REMAIN EQUALLY STRONG IN BOTH PARTS OF GLOBE IMPRESSED NUMATA AS

UNPRECEDENTED AND UNIQUE--THE MOST SIGNIFICANT MESSAGE OF THE SPEECH. SOME READERS, NUMATA SAID, MIGHT INTERPRET PREMISE THAT VALUE OF OUR POLITICAL AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIP DEPENDS ON ITS CONTRIBUTION TO BALANCE OF SECURITY OF ASIA AS SIGN THAT US LOOKING FOR GREATER MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION TO MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY IN AREA. NUMATA DOES NOT HAVE THIS VIEW, HOWEVER, NOR DO OTHERS IN FONOFF.

7. AS WAS WIDESPREAD CASE WITH PUNDITS AND EDITORIALISTS, NUMATA INTERPRETED SECRETARY'S DECLARATION OF US OPPOSITION TO COUNTRIES WHICH ATTEMPTED TO IMPOSE WILL ON ASIA AS SKILLFUL VERSION OF "HEGEMONY CLAUSE" WHICH REMAINED TRUE TO GENERAL PRINCIPLE WHILE AVOIDING PROBLEMS THAT WOULD HAVE ARISEN HAD THAT LOADED WORD ACTUALLY BEEN USED. SOME PRESS COMMENTATORS SAW THIS CLAUSE IN SECRETARY'S SPEECH AS VEILED EFFORT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO ACCENT PEKING'S POSITION. NUMATA DID NOT SHARE THIS ATTITUDE, COMMENTING THAT ANY AMERICAN SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH FOREIGN RELATIONS BASED WOULD HAVE LOOKED STRANGE THESE DAYS PARTICULARLY IN PEKING, WITHOUT SOME FORMULATION OPPOSING CONCEPT OF HEGEMONY. SUBSEQUENTLY, PRIME MINISTER MIKI, IN JULY 5 PRESS CONFERENCE QUOTED KISSINGER PHRASEOLOGY IN SUPPORT OF HIS CONTENTION THAT OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY IS MERELY PRINCIPLE OF PEACE AND NOT AIMED AT ANY PARTICULAR THIRD COUNTRY.

8. FONOFF READERS INTRIGUED WITH SEQUENCE LEADING UP TO REAFFIRMATION OF US COMMITMENT TO KOREA. NOTING STATEMENT THAT SOCIAL JUSTICE ESSENTIAL TO RESIST EXTERNAL CHALLENGE, "BUT" SUPPORT WOULD BE AVAILABLE WHERE PROMISED, SPECIFICALLY KOREA, NUMATA AND OTHERS FELT THE "BUT" TRANSFORMED THE SEQUENCE OF THOUGHT INTO AN IMPLICIT BUT CLEAR PUBLIC CRITICISM OF PARK'S DOMESTIC POLICIES.

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9. NUMATA APPRECIATED STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS OF POLICY STATEMENTS TOWARD NEW COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN INDOCHINA, AND WAS DELIGHTED BY REFERENCES TO JAPAN'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACEFUL WORLD (WE SUSPECT HE WROTE THE PASSAGE IN FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S SUGGESTIONS).

10. WHILE HE INTERPRETED CONTEXT TO MEAN THAT SECRETARY WAS SPEAKING OF US POLICY WHEN HE DESCRIBED EQUIDISTANT DIPLOMACY AS "MYTH," NUMATA SAID MANY JAPANESE READERS BELIEVED HE WAS COMMENTING CRITICALLY ON JAPAN'S WORKD POSTURE. IN ANSWERING QUERIES FROM COLLEAGUES AND PRESS, NUMATA HAD EMPHASIZED SECRETARY'S VIEW OF JAPAN AS PERMANENT FRIEND WITH SPECIAL TIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES. NUMATA RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT MYTH OF EQUIDISTANCE APPLIES TO BOTH JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES,

AND THAT WAY FORMULATION WAS SET INTO TEXT MAY HAVE BEEN  
DILIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS.

11. AS WAS TRUE AT TIME OF INITIAL REACTION, NUMATA AND  
COLLEAGUES WELCOMED PROPOSAL FOR SEMIANNUAL CONSULTATIONS,  
ALTHOUGH NOTING THAT DE FACTO PACE OF MEETINGS BETWEEN FOREIGN  
MINISTERS HAS BEEN FASTER THAN THAT LATELY. HOWEVER, WHILE  
FONOFF WOULD PREFER TO WAIT A WHILE BEFORE DEALING WITH  
SPECIFICS AND MODALITIES OF MEETINGS, NUMATA SAID THAT REGULAR  
MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS COULD NOT, FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST, TAKE  
PLACE OF ECONCOM. THIS WAS FORMAL FONOFF DECISION PREPARED FOR  
FONMIN MIYAZAWA AS GUIDANCE FOR POSSIBLE DIET INTERPELLATION.  
(QUESTION WAS NEVER ASKED, AS FAR AS WE KNOW.) NUMATA  
STRESSED THAT HE WAS TALKING ABOUT SHORT TERM. CHANGES IN  
ECONCOM MIGHT DEVELOP OVER TIME BUT FOR NOW BUREAUCRATIC POL-  
ITICAL PROBLEM INVOLVED IN TELLING OTHER MINISTRIES THAT  
THEY BEING CUT OUT OF ACTION TOO MUCH FOR FONOFF TO HANDLE.

12. NUMATA HAD FEW COMMENTS TO MAKE ABOUT ECONOMIC POSITIONS  
OUTLINED IN SPEECH, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES  
APPRECIATE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY THAT BOTH US AND JAPAN BEAR AS  
PRINCIPLE PRODUCEERS AND CONSUMERS OF AGRICULTURAL GOODS. IN  
CONCLUSION, HE REMARKED WITH PLEASURE ON IMPORTANCE ATTACHED  
TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES.  
HODGSON

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